

# Historians of Traditional Hawai'i: An Annotated Bibliography

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## **1 Introduction**

This annotated bibliography presents a list of works by key historians who contributed to the preservation of traditional Hawaiian history. Some background on each individual is given to provide insight into what informed these historians and the perspectives that inevitably shaped their (re)tellings of history. Also, we describe the methods and motivations that went into collecting and producing these histories. These are presented with the hope that one may take away a better understanding of how history is constructed and recorded and the ways in which the goals of the historians impact their histories.

## **2 Nineteenth-Century Native Scholars**

These native Hawaiian historians received western educations, and are thus profoundly influenced by western ideologies. As a result, the reconciling of the differences between how Hawaiians recorded history and how westerners did became necessary. Hawaiians preserved history via an oral tradition, while the influence of foreigners began to call for a written record of traditional Hawaiian history. Christian thought also affected these individuals as they lived in a time when missionaries were exerting their influence on the native population.

Scholar Noelani Arista suggests that these historians were likely educated by a number of sources, not just in school, but also by their elders in family-specific and locale-specific matters. The historians had to negotiate among their different pedagogical traditions in determining how to record their histories. Arista believes that foreign intellectual tradition also tended to seek a single true history, whereas Hawaiian intellectual tradition consisted of many different versions of a single story, a multiplicity which was not a weakness, but rather a contributor to the richness of the history [6].

### **2.1 Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1815–1876)**

Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau was not born until many years after the first foreign contact, in a Hawai‘i that experienced rapid development and change toward western ways. Although he was surrounded by elders of Kaua‘i and O‘ahu who imparted knowledge of traditional ways in his youth, he had a decidedly western upbringing. Kamakau attended Lahainaluna Seminary, a Protestant missionary school, as part of its second class [9:11]. After graduation, he remained there as a teacher’s assistant and in 1841 took part in an effort under the direction of Rev. Sheldon Dibble to record traditional Hawaiian history, the primary goals of which were elucidating for the public and for posterity the origins of his people, and preventing Hawaiians from becoming “like the American Indians—a race without a history” [55:41–42]. They organized a historical society that

was patronized by Kamehameha III and called it 'Ahahui 'imi mo'olelo Hawaii. The product was *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii* [15].

After leaving Lahainaluna, Kamakau served as a government official, evidence of his complete acclimation to the western system. His various roles included school principal, school agent, tax assessor, Land Commission member, legislator, and judge. Kamakau's religious beliefs were also exclusively western—he grew up as a Protestant and as an adult converted to Catholicism [29:iv].

Kamakau did not start actively recording histories until later in his life, after retiring from government service in the 1860s. He began to write regularly for the newspaper *Kuokoa* and by the end of his life had produced nearly 300 articles [29:iii]. Presumably, some of what he recorded originated from what he learned and experienced with his elders, and the rest was informed by research conducted, some as part of his efforts at Lahainaluna, by seeking the *kūpuna* who were still living and had experienced things firsthand. A sense of urgency over the loss of the history overcame Kamakau, and he lamented that

There are no more people conversant with old history; those who are left try to make out that they are beacon lights on historical subjects, when in fact their knowledge on these subjects is only limited. Still others are those foreigners who claim to know so much about our land and people, but whose knowledge is only superficial. [55]

Of the historians of his time, Kamakau published the most. The histories and genealogies Kamakau wrote were published in various Hawaiian-language newspapers where the public was able to comment on the validity of them as well as to question whether it is appropriate to publish such information. One critic of Kamakau, another genealogist named A. Unauna, thought that the publication of a genealogy of chiefs was sacrilege—such information was sacred and should not be made available to the general public. Kamakau countered that genealogists who were by then deceased would have rejoiced that the genealogies were being recorded and shared. This seems to be an example of traditional Hawaiian ideologies clashing with western ones, where Kamakau is taking the western perspective of recording, publishing, and disseminating, though he believes his actions are in line with the desires of his forebearers.

Perhaps Kamakau's greatest fault was his arrogance. At times it seemed that Kamakau envisioned himself a hero for his work in preserving traditional Hawaiian history, exclaiming in 1868 that he was the “only one left of those who know the old stories of Hawaii” [9:20]. He also wrote,

This is the greatest problem: the demise of Hawaii's knowledgeable people of the past. And I regret the loss of my elders. If I had received the knowledge of their days, then the history of Hawaii would be extremely accurate. However, I am patient, for within me, has been kept the deeds from my childhood. [9:20]

Though he possessed an extensive body of information through his research, Kamakau's arrogance and fervor may have led him astray in his efforts. Abraham Fornander said of him, “Probably the best informed Hawaiian archeologist of the present day is S. M. Kamakau, but even he is often very credulous, inconsistent and uncritical . . . his love of antiquity often leads him into irreconcilable difficulties” [55:45–46]. We know that Kamakau's research method involved interviewing *kūpuna* who had carried on the traditions via oral histories, but how Kamakau recorded, interpreted, and organized that material is uncertain.

Selections from Kamakau's body of work have been organized into a trilogy on *ka po'e kahiko*—the people of old—translated by Mary Kawena Pukui, edited by Dorothy Barrère, and published by Bishop Museum Press. These are *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old* = *Nā Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko* [28], *Ka Po'e Kahiko* = *The People of Old* [26], and *The Works of the People of Old* = *Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko* [27]. There is also *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* which professes to illuminate political history from the time of 'Umi, who precedes Kamehameha I by eight generations, up through Kamehameha III in the 1840s. The articles that fill these volumes were collected from the newspapers *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ke Au 'O'koa*. Kamakau wrote on many subjects relating to ancient Hawaiian culture, with varying degrees of embellishment. While it is difficult to say with assurance which stories may be regarded as largely authentic, instances of Kamakau's deviation are discernible when keeping in mind his Christian background.

In a series entitled "A Sightseeing Tour of Famous Places, Supernatural People, The Ancient Chiefs from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau" Kamakau takes the role of a foreigner visiting places on O'ahu and recounting stories associated with those places. This role is perhaps appropriate for Kamakau, as he is but a sightseer to the traditions that perpetuated these stories under the guidance of his elders who truly experienced the culture that cultivated them.

In discussions of the lands of Kahiki, the place Hawaiians originated from, and the ancient chiefs, Kamakau describes several legendary individuals who are said to have sailed to Kahiki, their reasons for having done so, and the events that transpired. A list of ancient chiefs and their birthplaces is rattled off, and Kamakau also discusses the first *haole* to come to Hawai'i.

Another collection consists of excerpts of "Ka Moolelo Hawaii" in which Kamakau acknowledges the multiplicity of accounts regarding the origin of the land of Hawai'i and of its people. It is also noted that Kamakau himself often repeated, embellished, and changed some of his accounts. How much of the embellishment was a function of ancient Hawaiian tradition's multiplicity, and how much was a function of Kamakau's desire to draw similarities between Christianity and ancient Hawaiian beliefs is hard to say.

Kamakau and Kepelino served as major sources for Fornander's *The Polynesian Race*. In the book, Fornander describes the Kumuhonua legends of creation and origin of the Hawaiians. In her study on these legends [3], Barrère effectively shows how the legends are deeply influenced by the strong Christian background of Kamakau and Kepelino.

Kamakau's articles on gods and creation myths of traditional Hawaiians show his bias most prominently. Kamakau fabricated and altered some of these myths to purport parallels between traditional Hawaiian and Christian beliefs.

An example of the Christianization of Hawaiian tradition appears in *Ka Po'e Kahiko* in Kamakau's discussion of the *'aumakua*.

There is one great 'aumakua god, and he made the highest heavens—the *lani kuaka'a*—and the earth, and the things that fill them both. He is Kanenuiakea, a single god and many gods in one god. Kunuiakea and Lononuiakea are included within ... the mana of this god; they are one god. [26:57]

This obviously parallels the monotheistic threefold Christian god (the father, the son, and the holy spirit).

Kamakau also wrote on how the ancient Hawaiians kept track of time and space, how they divided, named, and cultivated the land, and the details of fishing, crafts, *heiau*, and rituals in *Na*

*Hana a ka Poʻe Kahiko*. In the preface to this volume, Barrère notes that close review of Kamakau's series "Mo'olelo Hawaii" reveals that it was an expansion on Malo's work of the same name.

While it isn't always apparent in the text that the histories are governed by Kamakau's indoctrination in western ideologies, it is important to keep in mind the details of his education, upbringing, and research methods in evaluating the authenticity of Kamakau's work. While he does recognize the multiplicity that is characteristic of Hawaiian intellectual tradition, it is difficult to distinguish what can be attributed to multiplicity and what is merely Kamakau's invention.

## 2.2 Davida Malo (1795–1853)

Davida Malo described himself as "a companion of the chiefs—a counselor for them at times, a school teacher, sugar planter, and a licensed preacher" and one who had studied the *mele* and the genealogies of the ancient chiefs [10:6]. Malo was the most renowned and highly regarded historian of his peers. The uniqueness of Davida Malo lay in that he was a native scholar with a sharp intellect who was immersed in ancient Hawaiian culture as a youth.

Malo's birth occurred shortly after the first foreign contact in Hawai'i at Keauhou, North Kona, Hawai'i Island. Just a couple of years prior, Captain Vancouver had been making his second visit to the islands. Malo's father A'oa'o was involved in Kamehameha's army, and as a youth, Malo was associated with high chief Kuakini, Ka'ahumanu's brother, and thus became exposed to *mele*, *pule*, *oli*, and other aspects of ancient Hawaiian culture. In this environment, Malo became a traditionally trained genealogist. He also became a great composer, but he abandoned that practice upon his conversion to Christianity, and even began to look upon his native culture with disdain. One of Malo's greatest teachers in the Hawaiian court was chief 'Auwae Ka'aloa, a favorite of Kamehameha and an orator and genealogist.

At some point in his adult life, Malo moved to Lahaina, Maui where he became acquainted with Rev. William Richards. Richards had settled in Lahaina in 1823 and became a lifelong friend to Malo. The reverend was deeply respected by Malo and was chiefly instrumental in Malo's conversion to Christianity.

Malo also attended Lahainaluna Seminary when it was established in 1831 as part of its first class on the urging of Queen Ka'ahumanu, who wished to have an adviser who was educated in the ways of the foreigners. Since Malo had already received some western educational training prior to his entrance to Lahainaluna, he took more of a role of teacher than student, helping his classmates in their studies. Like Kamakau, Malo had participated in Rev. Dibble's efforts to record ancient Hawaiian culture as it was before the impact of foreign influences as part of 'Ahahui 'imi mo'olelo Hawaii. He was assigned to research the story of Umi-a-Liloa [10:ii–iii].

In 1841, Malo also engaged in public service, as General School Agent for the island of Maui, Superintendent of Schools for the Kingdom, and a Maui representative to the first House of Representatives of the Kingdom [10:5].

By 1847, Malo's health was in decline, and Foreign Minister Robert C. Wyllie and Rev. Dwight Baldwin began to fear his imminent death. In correspondence, Wyllie wrote, "if Davida Malo should die, much information respecting the ancient history of the Islands . . . would be lost forever" and thus concluded that Malo should be induced to write [10:7]. Baldwin and Wyllie wished to gain Malo a position as Kingdom historian so that he might have the resources to record his knowledge; however, the matter was not proposed to the king and thus never came to fruition.

It is speculated that around this time Malo began work on *Moolelo Hawaii* at the encouragement of Rev. Dibble and Lorrin Andrews. Some believe that he composed the work earlier, in 1839–1840, but scholar Malcolm Nāea Chun doubts whether this is accurate since Malo “publish[ed] a list of questions about pre-Cook society and history in the newspaper *Ka ‘Elele Hawai‘i* dated July 1, 1847” which seems to indicate he was in the process of writing after inducement from Baldwin, Richards, and Wyllie at the time [10:7].

Three major works are attributed to Malo: a compilation put together by Rev. Pogue called *Moolelo Hawaii*, another work entitled *Hawaiian Antiquities* (*Moolelo Hawaii*) which was translated from Malo’s manuscripts, and a history of Kamehameha. Pogue’s *Moolelo Hawaii* is a second edition of the product of the Lahainaluna students’ work as part of the ‘Ahahui ‘imi mo‘olelo Hawaii. Pogue added to it extensively from Malo’s manuscripts which are the source of *Hawaiian Antiquities*. The third of these was commissioned by Lorrin Andrews, and regrettably a copy has not been seen in the public eye and has essentially disappeared [41:xii–xiii].

Presumably, what Malo wrote consisted of the research he conducted for the ‘Ahahui ‘imi mo‘olelo Hawaii, as well as what he learned in his youth while part of chief Kuakini’s court. He was the only historian fortunate to have been born early enough to experience a culture that was not yet subject to the rapid changes influenced by the arrival of the missionaries and other foreigners. It is not possible to distinguish what information comes from Malo’s own experiences and what comes from his interviews with *kūpuna*.

Unlike Kamakau, Malo was highly esteemed by all in his time and thereafter. Although Malo also became a Christian, and even came to despise as pagan the rituals that he had once subscribed to, it seems that Malo let that bias intrude into his work much less than Kamakau did. The question of the degree of bearing Malo’s western education had on how he recorded history, however, is a difficult one to address.

In *Hawaiian Antiquities* Malo plainly favors the western intellectual tradition, saying that “faults of memory” are responsible for the contradictions existent in ancient traditions and that in this way “the traditions are split up and made worthless.” Also, he laments that the genealogies are haphazard and inconsistent, unlike that of Adam, presumably the biblical Adam, which is one unbroken line [41:1–2]. Malo views these as flaws attributable to the defects of an oral tradition as opposed to a written one. However, consider also that Malo did not begin to record these histories until late in his life and only upon the urging of his foreign acquaintances.

Regarding the origin of the Hawaiian Islands, one legend states that the islands were born of a woman, Papa; another that the islands were shaped by the hands of Wakea. Malo perceives these as errors: “If the women in that ancient time gave birth to countries then indeed would they do so in these days; and if at that time they were made by the hands of Wakea, doubtless the same thing would be done now.” The origins of the land of Hawai‘i cannot be known for sure, according to Malo, because “the traditions of the ancients are utterly unreliable and astray in their vagaries” [41:3–4]. His views obviously reflect his western education. While Malo may not have had the same regard for the multiplicity as Kamakau had and made his opinion apparent, at least he presented all accounts and did not have a penchant for invention as Kamakau had.

### 2.3 Ioane (John) Papa ʻĪʻi (1800–1870)

In the year 1800, at Waipio on Oʻahu, John Papa ʻĪʻi was born. His uncle, Papa, was a *kahu* of Kamehameha, and when ʻĪʻi was ten years old, he moved to Honolulu where he came under Papa's care. There he became a retainer in Liholiho's court. ʻĪʻi attained this position because he is said to have been a distant relative of the Kamehamehas [30:348, n. 64]. Because of his genealogy, he spent nearly his entire lifetime in service of the *aliʻi nui*.

As a youth he interacted with Kamehameha I, and became a close companion to Liholiho, who would become Kamehameha II. To Kamehameha III, ʻĪʻi was of great influence. Thus ʻĪʻi had an intimacy with the royals unmatched by his peers which privileged him to information and experiences few others had [25:vii].

By 1820, Liholiho had become Kamehameha II and the missionaries had arrived in Hawaiʻi. ʻĪʻi studied with Rev. Hiram Bingham at Liholiho's request and eventually taught at Bingham's school. Liholiho used ʻĪʻi to see what sort of effects Christianity was having on his people [25:vii].

ʻĪʻi was a devoted *kaukaualiʻi* to Kinaʻu and a *kahu* to her daughter, Victoria Kamāmalu. When Kinaʻu passed, her lands were inherited by Kamāmalu, who was just a young child. ʻĪʻi helped oversee the extensive land holdings of Kamāmalu [30:124].

Later in life, under Kamehameha III's rule, ʻĪʻi became active in government. He served as general superintendent of Oʻahu schools in 1841. The following year he was appointed to the new Treasury Board, which oversaw the kingdom's finances. He also served as a member on the Privy Council, the Board of Land Commissioners, the House of Nobles, and the House of Representatives. Also, from 1846 to 1864 ʻĪʻi was an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Hawaiʻi [25:vii].

In the final years of his life following his retirement from the Supreme Court, he devoted himself to the Christian ministry. ʻĪʻi is said to have been a proponent of Christianity and democracy in the kingdom [25:vii].

ʻĪʻi's character presented him as a man of high morals and integrity. Because of his unselfishness, throughout his life he "devoted himself to the betterment of his people" [25:vii].

ʻĪʻi's writings were translated by Mary Kawena Pukui and are collected in *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, edited by Dorothy Barrère. ʻĪʻi's work stands alone among the writings of Hawaiian scholars of his time in that it is a narrative of ʻĪʻi's personal experiences. The collective experiences form a memoir of a defining transitional period in Hawaiian history, where new western systems were replacing the systems of ancient Hawaiʻi that ʻĪʻi experienced in his youth.

ʻĪʻi began writing just a few years prior to his death when he was tasked to write a biography of Victoria Kamāmalu following her death in 1866. He was also apparently inspired by the writings of Kamakau, as some accounts are amplifications of Kamakau's accounts, in which ʻĪʻi supplied firsthand knowledge [25:ix].

In his writings, published in *Kuokoa* from 1866 to 1870, he recounts, among other things, details of Kamehameha I's life, knowledge which he undoubtedly acquired thanks to his position as a *kaukaualiʻi*.

Although ʻĪʻi became a Christian and wanted democracy for Hawaiʻi, showing his complete adaptation to foreign ways, he retained a reverence for his native culture. Kenneth Emory comments, "The discipline and training of ancient life, with its emphasis on devotion to the chiefs and one's family, is the keynote of the 'Fragments of Hawaiian History'" [25:x].

## 2.4 Kepelino Kahoalii (c. 1830–1878)

Kepelino, the youngest of our native Hawaiian historians, was born of parents of chiefly lineage who converted to Catholicism. He received a Catholic education and even participated in the establishment of a Catholic mission in Tahiti for one to two years as a youth beginning in 1847. Kepelino is known to have attended a Catholic high school in ‘Āhuimanu sometime between 1861 and 1869 where he acquired English, French, Latin, and Greek [3:2]. He became active from 1858 forward in writing for the Catholic press on such subjects as Hawaiian religious practices, birds and fish of Hawai‘i, and criticisms of the Protestant mission [6:vi–vii].

Most of Kepelino’s writings were produced in 1860–1870 while he attended the Catholic high school at ‘Āhuimanu. According to Arista, this was an important time for public discourse among Hawaiians. At least nine Hawaiian-language newspapers were in print. We know that things were getting published by individuals like Kamakau, and that people were responding to them. Arista gives some insight into the kind of negotiations that occurred between modes of knowledge for these Hawaiian intellectuals:

While the intellectuals involved in “Imi Mo‘olelo” were in some cases inheritors and practitioners of the traditions they acquired orally, they also adapted and experimented with new ways to collect, critique, and publish Hawaiian traditions. Writers who published in the newspapers would routinely solicit more information on a subject from their readers, while members in various historical societies sought out local experts and other learned people. Through interviews and written exchanges, the writers gathered information to enrich and expand their knowledge base. [6:ix]

This dialogic method harks back to the ancient Hawaiian way of sharing *mo‘olelo* in order to build upon them.

Near the end of his life, Kepelino became involved in a dispute that arose upon the death of Lunalilo in 1874 between Queen Emma and David Kalākaua over who would succeed to the throne. Kepelino, a secretary to Emma, wrote to the Queen of England and the King of Italy requesting support in the form of warships for Emma’s claim to the throne. The letters, however, were intercepted, and Kepelino was put on trial for high treason after Kalākaua became king. He received a death sentence which was commuted and served nearly two years in prison before being pardoned in 1876 [6:vii–viii].

Because of Kepelino’s lineage, he was privileged to inherit the genealogies and histories of his ancestors. His Catholic teachers urged him to record what he knew. The manuscript he produced remained unpublished for many years while it was property of the Roman Catholic Mission in Honolulu. Then, it was given to Bishop Museum c. 1930 and finally published in 1932 as *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii* [3; 6].

Beckwith, who translated and edited the first publication of *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii*, addresses “the charge that the facts themselves represent not original Hawaiian ideas but such as have been superimposed or at the best distorted by foreign teaching.” She admits that in regard to “the stories of the creation, of the origin of death, of the rewards and punishments in the life after death, of the eart[h]ly paradise and the story of the flood”—“these are certainly interpreted after the pattern of Christian teaching,” but retains that the chants, descriptions of country life and court life, and descriptions of Hawaiian religious practices are authentic and “uninfluenced



by Christian thought” [6:5–7].<sup>1</sup> Beckwith also comments on the fact that “oral transmission and the encouragement of the art of esoteric composition must have left to the preservers of tradition considerable latitude in the rendering of ancient tradition” [6:6]. The criticism of Kepelino’s stories is based on a western ideological system. Deciding the cogency of Beckwith’s evaluations is up to the researcher.

### 3 Foreign Transplants

The following section discusses historians who were not born in Hawai‘i, nor did they have Hawaiian ancestry, but came here and fostered a deep relationship with the culture of Hawai‘i, becoming fully immersed in it. These people learned the culture and language and thus have a good understanding of the indigenous perspective.

#### 3.1 Abraham Fornander (1812–1887)

Abraham Fornander was a *haole* nineteenth-century scholar born and educated in Sweden. The education Fornander received prepared him for a life in the ministry; however, he abandoned that plan as “an indescribable desire held possession of my soul to see the new world and find or make a way for myself in life.” His life at sea as a whaler first brought him to Hawai‘i in 1838. After retiring from that vocation in 1842, he returned to Hawai‘i where he would settle permanently. Fornander married chiefess Alanakapu Kauapinao of Moloka‘i in 1847. Together they had four children, only one of which survived past a young age, a daughter named Catherine Brown [22:xi–xii].

By 1850 Fornander had entered into journalism at the *Weekly Argus* in the form of a series of editorial letters penned under a pseudonym. After revealing his identity, in 1852, he became a joint editor for the newspaper. In 1853, under the sole editorship of Fornander, the *Argus* became the *New Era and Argus* [14:66–67]. Fornander also became involved in the *Sandwich Island’s Magazine* in 1856 [22:xii].

As a journalist, Fornander took opposition against the Christian mission in Hawai‘i, arguing that the Hawaiians were already a civilized people with laws and morals long before the arrival of the missionaries. He supported Hawaiian cultural practices like dance, language, chant, and spirituality [22:xii]. Of Fornander, it has been said that there is “[p]robably no other non-missionary white resident in Hawaii [who] took a more serious interest in Hawaiian studies” [16:1]. He also wrote on issues of government, including the constitution and the intrusion of missionaries in government [14:66–76].

Through his wife, he became associated with Hawaiian royalty, which led to his appointment in 1864 as a member of the Privy Council and circuit judge over Maui, Moloka‘i, and Lāna‘i. Fornander also furthered his efforts against missionary influence in his position as inspector general of schools in Honolulu in 1865–1870, as well as attempting to improve education for females and Hawaiian-language learning materials.

When his controversial term as inspector general ended, Fornander moved to Maui where in 1870–1871 he began conducting interviews with Kamakau and Kepelino. Fornander also conducted

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<sup>1</sup>As mentioned above in sec. 2.1, Kepelino was a major source for Fornander’s *The Polynesian Race*, and Barrère’s study [3] confirms the biblicizing of some of Kepelino’s stories.

research similar to that of the 'Ahahui 'imi mo'olelo Hawaii over the extent of three years:

I employed two, sometimes three, intelligent and educated Hawaiians to travel over the entire group and collect and transcribe, from the lips of the old natives, all the legends, chants, prayers, &c., bearing upon the history, culte, and customs of the people, that they possibly could get hold of. [21:iv]

However, he encountered such difficulties as the growing scarcity of elders and an unwillingness from some to share information, even with the Hawaiian researchers. Regardless, he acquired what he professed to be "probably the greatest collection of Hawaiian lore in or out of the Pacific" [21:v].

Trübner & Co. first published Fornander's work in *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, a three-volume set on myths and legends, history, and language, with a volume released in 1878, 1880, and 1885 [21:xii]. The publication earned international repute. King Kalākaua recognized Fornander's accomplishments by making him a Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I.

After Fornander's death, Thomas Thrum translated and edited a *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore* which consisted of Fornander's original oral materials.

Fornander's account of the arrival of Captain James Cook is notable for its presentation of the Hawaiian perspective, offering what is called a more realistic, balanced description of the events which occurred that built tension between Cook and the Hawaiians and culminated in Cook's death.

In his second volume of *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, Fornander recounts what transpired following Cook's arrival in Hawai'i [22:158–200]. In gathering the information, Fornander uses several sources which he describes:

I have taken due heed of what has been written on the subject by [Captain Cook] and by Captain King in their journal of "A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean," ... as well as of what has been written by others; but as I am not writing a history of Captain Cook, but a history of the Hawaiian group, I have also consulted the Hawaiian reminiscences of that memorable event, as handed down to still living children or grandchildren [like Malo and Kamakau] ... the Hawaiian version gives a more natural, and consequently a more probably correct, account of the transaction. [22:159]

In other accounts of Cook's visit, one is likely to find only the European viewpoint. As a better balanced portrayal, Fornander's account shows how the Hawaiians were exceedingly hospitable, and Cook and his men did not reciprocate [22:186].

Praise for Fornander speaks of his desire to inspire interest and respect for the history and culture of Hawai'i and its people, in a time of increasing foreign influence. Fornander wrote, "If I have succeeded in showing that the Hawaiians had a history of their past, and a history worth preserving, my labour will not have been in vain" [22:349].

The unmatched perspective of one who is opposed to the increasing Christian influence in the islands is offered by Fornander. While Fornander's two major sources, Kamakau and Kepelino, were representing a Christian perspective, perhaps this is tempered by Fornander's displeasure with the Christian mission. One should be reminded again, however, of Barrère's work on the Kumuhonua legends [3] (sec. 2.1), as well as Fornander's acknowledgement of Kamakau's credulity and inconsistency.

But, Fornander himself has been described as credulous. One of the aims of Fornander's *An Account of the Polynesian Race* was to trace the origins of Hawaiians through comparative linguistics. Linguist Samuel H. Elbert writes of Fornander and his theories:

The rigorous methods of the science of comparative linguistics were being developed in Europe during the 1870s, mostly by Germans. Fornander did not know of this work and his methods were naive. He believed in an evolutionary sequence of languages—an idea long since discarded—and considered the Polynesian languages as remnants of an ancient linguistic stratum from which developed later the inflected Indo-European languages, and by comparison of folk tales and word and spelling similarities he traced the Polynesians back to the highlands of Central Asia and even to Italy. [16]

Of course, we know today that it is unlikely the Hawaiians originated from Central Asia or Italy. Polynesian languages bear no relationship to Indo-European languages; similarities between them were mere coincidence, as similarities can be found between any two languages [16].

Although we are dealing with a foreigner, it is apparent that Fornander developed a great reverence and affection for Hawai'i and its people and history. He expressed a hunger for knowledge on Hawaiian history and a desire to preserve and perpetuate it. He immersed himself in his study of Hawaiian culture and history, perhaps so much so that he became what he accused Kamakau of being, one whose love for antiquity made him prone to credulity.

In navigating Fornander's texts, consider his position as a foreigner and role as opposition of the Christian mission, as well as his great passion for his work in preserving ancient Hawaiian history. Also, be mindful of his sources, which include Kamakau and Kepelino, both of whom have been previously discussed (secs. 2.1, 2.4).

### 3.2 Nathaniel B. Emerson (1839–1915)

Nathaniel B. Emerson, son of missionary Rev. John S. Emerson, was born at Waialua, O'ahu. His parents arrived in Hawai'i from Massachusetts in 1831. Rev. Emerson served as a pastor in a native church at Waialua, where young Nathaniel interacted with Hawaiian children daily, unlike other missionary children, whose parents monitored their contact [18:xviii]. As a child, Emerson attended O'ahu College, now known as Punahou School, but he went to the US for his college education. After graduating from Williams College in 1865, Emerson fought for the Union Army in the Civil War. Later, he attended Harvard University and the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York and completed a medical degree in 1869 [20:4–5].

A job as an inspector of the government's Hansen's disease stations brought him back to Hawai'i in 1878 [20:4–5]. He worked on Moloka'i for some years, after which he returned to Honolulu where he eventually opened a private medical practice. Later, employment as the police surgeon led to further interaction with Hawaiians, opening more avenues for Emerson to pursue in his research [19:xix].

Emerson took an interest in Hawaiian history and folklore and was a charter member of the Hawaiian Historical Society, founded in 1892.<sup>2</sup> He, like others, undertook the task of gathering information by conducting interviews with Hawaiians who shared the knowledge they acquired

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<sup>2</sup><http://www.hawaiianhistory.org/>

through their oral tradition. Emerson was able to do this because he had learned the Hawaiian language. Also like others, he encountered difficulties with informants who were very guarded with their cultural capital. Still, he was able to collect a healthy store of information on the ancient Hawaiian culture [20:5–6].

The four published works of Emerson are *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* [20], *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii* [18], *The Long Voyages of the Ancient Hawaiians* [17],<sup>3</sup> and his translation of Davida Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* [41].

Emerson's great admiration for Hawaiian culture, especially the hula, prompted his *Unwritten Literature*. Since the ancient Hawaiians lacked a writing system, culture was conveyed through a performative tradition of chants and dances. In many cases, Emerson was for the first time recording things in writing that had never previously appeared in that form. Although he subscribed to misconceptions of Hawaiians as simple and primitive, he had a great appreciation for the hula as a legacy and did not see it as a lascivious dance, as was the common perception in his time [20:5–6]. In *Unwritten Literature*, Emerson describes the tradition of hula. He gives songs and chants along with their translations. Emerson's title refers to the role that hula fills, "[keeping] the communal imagination in living touch with the nation's legendary past ... in the cantillations of the old-time hula we find a ready-made anthology" [20:vii].

In *Pele and Hiiaka*, Emerson retells the tale of the titular characters. Having recognized this myth as an important one to Hawaiian culture, Emerson sought to collect information from various sources and "combine them into one concordant whole" [19:xxii]. He names a few sources: serial contributions to Hawaiian newspapers, interviews with the men and women of the older regime, and papers solicited from intelligent Hawaiians [19:xxi]. In his preface, Emerson explains the various versions of this myth thus:

The Hawaiian to whose memory was committed the keeping of an old time mele regarded it as a sacred trust, to be transmitted in its integrity; and he was inclined to look upon every different and contradictory version of that mele as, in a sense, an infringement of his preserve, a desecration of that sacred thing which had been entrusted to him ... a company of haku-mele (poets or song-makers) conferring together for the purpose of settling upon one authoritative version of a historic mele was an impossibility. [19:xxii]

While Emerson understood how the oral tradition functioned in Hawaiian culture, he still favored western methods. His purpose in this work is to commit a story in writing that he believed had the imminent fate of dying out with the *kūpuna* who possessed them.

*The Long Voyages of the Ancient Hawaiians* was a paper Emerson wrote for the Hawaiian Historical Society. In it, Emerson discusses the origins of the Hawaiians and relates the story of Pao and others who traveled from Kahiki to Hawai'i and the chants associated with them. He cites the works of Kamakau, Malo, and E. Helekunihi as sources [17:28].

Emerson sold his translation and notes of Davida Malo's manuscript in 1898 to Bishop Museum. After review and editing by W. D. Alexander and others, as organized by the museum, *Hawaiian Antiquities* was first published in 1903. Unfortunately, no information could be found on how Emerson obtained the Malo manuscript and the circumstances under which he was prompted to

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<sup>3</sup><http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10524/965/1/OP05.pdf>

translate it. If one had to guess, though, his interest in Hawaiian history and role as a member of the Hawaiian Historical Society likely had something to do with it. Until Malcolm Nāea Chun's translation was published in 1996, Emerson's was the only English translation available. Since its first publication, it has been found to have inaccuracies and at times to not be a literal translation. Emerson commented on Malo's writing abilities in a biographical sketch of Malo, saying that

As a writer, Malo was handicapped not only by the character and limitations of the language which was his organ of literary expression, but also by the rawness of his experience in the use of the pen. [41:xv]

This comment may be perceived as offensive to the Hawaiian language, but it is an opinion reflective of Emerson's time. Regardless, it shows that Emerson took liberties to amend what he saw as weak writing by Malo.

Emerson spent important periods in his life both in and away from Hawai'i. An appreciation for Hawaiian culture led to his acquisition of the language, gaining him entry to *mō'ōlelo* from the native Hawaiians. Although he was a foreigner, Emerson built a close relationship with Hawai'i because of his upbringing here and a desire to learn about the native culture. However, he was subject to the belief of his time that Hawaiians were a simple people. His work was perhaps more driven by a desire to preserve in the interest of building the historical record, than to service the Hawaiian people. He was also a highly educated individual, which may have affected his approach to his historical writings. All these factors should be considered in relation to Emerson's work.

### 3.3 Martha Warren Beckwith (1871–1959)

Martha Warren Beckwith was not born in Hawai'i, but had ancestral ties to pioneer missionaries in Hawai'i, and in her youth through adulthood she spent much time in the islands. She and her parents moved to Hawai'i when she was a child because they had some relatives still residing here. Her father taught at Royal School and Punahou, and developed a plantation on Maui. In the preface to her *Hawaiian Mythology*, she writes of being inspired by a childhood and youth spent on Maui [4:xxx].

She received her bachelor's degree from Mt. Holyoke College on the mainland, and afterward spent ten years teaching English at various colleges. Then, in 1906, Beckwith earned an MA in anthropology from Columbia University. Finally, in 1918, she received her PhD. In 1920, Beckwith took a position at Vassar College as research professor on the Folklore Foundation which she held until her retirement in 1938 [4:ix–x].

After retiring she made more frequent trips to Hawai'i, spending most of her time as an honorary research associate in Hawaiian folklore at Bishop Museum. During this time she translated and edited the manuscripts of Kepelino, Kamakau, and others [4:xi–xii].

Her studies focused on the *post-contact* period, contrary to the concerns of other historians of her time, which were to recover and reconstruct the *pre-contact* native culture. While many would have dismissed the texts produced in the nineteenth century because of their obvious foreign influences, Beckwith wanted to value them for what they were, regardless, because they were still part of the native culture. She didn't care to sort out and evaluate the Christian influences in the texts, which drew criticism from colleagues [4:xv]. A colleague, Katharine Luomala, gives this apt description of the philosophy which governed Beckwith's studies:

[Beckwith] saturated herself in the materials and was carried along by the continuity that she recognized as present in Hawaiian tradition despite the dynamic processes of change in pre-European or post-European times. However the tradition might change, it was ever-Hawaiian, for the Hawaiian had selected, consciously or unconsciously, in terms of his own system of values from a vast arc of cultural possibilities ... Introduced traits ... must somehow harmonize or reflect an earlier, existing matrix or they would not have been accepted. [4:xv]

Also, in her research,

[s]he did not seek as a rule to solve a specific problem or to test a particular hypothesis, but to make a clearer overall map of the field than existed so that later more problem-oriented followers might benefit. [4:xvi]

Aside from her interest in Pacific folklore, she also studied Caribbean folklore, which she delved into just as intensely. She is described as a scholar deeply dedicated to her work, so much so that she often came off as detached from modern American culture, though it was a quality that endeared her to many [4:xiv].

In addition to her work on the Kepelino and Kamakau manuscripts, Beckwith produced several works, of which *Hawaiian Mythology* [4] and *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant* [5] are relevant to the current bibliography. In these two books, Beckwith organized for dissemination important relics of the ancient Hawaiian culture.

In 1881, the Kumulipo manuscript was in the possession of King Kalākaua who had inherited it (who committed the manuscript to writing is unknown). He loaned the manuscript to the German anthropologist Adolf Bastian who was unable to completely translate and understand all the allusions in the chant. When Kalākaua passed away, his younger sister became Queen Lili'uokalani and inherited the manuscript. Lili'uokalani translated and explained what she could of the allusions in 1897. After that, Beckwith translated and published it for wider availability [5:xi].

Beckwith acknowledged that the Kumulipo chant, while ancient and pre-Christian, may have been later altered by Christian thought. Nevertheless, she maintained the authenticity of the chant as a Hawaiian legend. A study by Barrère indicated that the Kumulipo is the oldest and most nearly unaltered Hawaiian genealogy [4:xi]. In her translation of the Kumulipo, Beckwith consulted some native Hawaiians familiar with native chant style to help with understanding the allusions within the text [4:xvii]. She did not have the same problem as had been experienced earlier by Fornander and others that some Hawaiians were reluctant to share their knowledge, even with their fellow Hawaiians; on the contrary, they shared generously [4:xi]. One should realize, though, that these Hawaiians were unlikely to have been old enough to experience an unadulterated native culture, so foreign influences might have tempered their interpretations.

Beckwith's philosophy regarding the most useful manner of utilizing these texts should remain in the reader's mind. In her work Beckwith was indiscriminate of the influences which informed the histories she studied. Her goal was always simply to share these stories with a wider audience.

While it is maintained that Beckwith's opinion is largely left out of the *Hawaiian Mythology* and *Kumulipo*, consider that Beckwith's opinion exists within the organization and presentation of the stories, and that it is one of an ethnographer and anthropologist.

### 3.4 M. Puakea Nogelmeier

Marvin Puakea Nogelmeier grew up in Minnesota. A year out of high school he quit his job at the post office, intending to start a new life in Japan. A stopover in Hawai'i turned into an extended stay when a lost wallet delayed him in the islands.

He spent about three months squatting at Makua Beach with others he had travelled with until moving into a residence at Makaha. He got to know a community of artists in Wai'anae and worked as a goldsmith. During that time, he met Mililani Allen, who was beginning to teach hula, and Nogelmeier joined her *hālau*.<sup>4</sup> Nogelmeier learned dance and chant, which led him to learning the Hawaiian language.

He acquired the language through a variety of ways. One was through the study of chant, which was part of his hula training. Another was in a Hawaiian-language course at Leeward Community College. A third way was through interaction with Theodore Kelsey (1891–1987), who was a noted photographer in Hawai'i, documenting such important events in Hawaiian history as Queen Liliuokalani's funeral. Kelsey was fluent in Hawaiian and assisted June Gutmanis, his caretaker, in translating materials. When Nogelmeier met Kelsey, Kelsey was 88 years old. Thus, Kelsey had insights into older nuances of the language that younger generations might miss.<sup>5</sup>

Currently, Nogelmeier is an associate professor of Hawaiian language at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UH). He did a double major in anthropology and Hawaiian language at UH. He also holds a master's degree in Pacific Island studies and a PhD in anthropology.<sup>6</sup> Nogelmeier is also now a kumu hula (hula teacher) and a recipient of the Nā Hōkū Hanohano Award for his songwriting.<sup>7</sup> He is a Hawaiian-language scholar and actively promotes the Hawaiian language.

One major accomplishment of Nogelmeier's is the translation of *Hi'iakaikaupoli*, the legend that tells the story of Pele, her lover Lohi'au, and her sister Hi'iaka [24]. Another publication of his is *Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* [43], in which Nogelmeier discusses the formation of the canon of Hawaiian history and the importance of examining not just the canon, but other nineteenth-century historical materials, and in the original Hawaiian.

For nearly a hundred years, researchers and scholars have excerpted bits and pieces from Hawaiian primary resources, while overlooking or disregarding other important materials. Those extracted fragments have been inadequately re-presented. A handful of Hawaiian writings were translated and published in English, and those heavily-edited translations have become the Hawaiian *canon*, the reference standard. Used as though they were originals, they have overshadowed the actual writings from which they were drawn and blocked other available sources from view. [43:xi]

Nogelmeier gives valuable analyses of the works of Kamakau and 'Ūi and the form in which we view them today. He points out how “the content, sequence, and form of the two authors’

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<sup>4</sup>It was through hula that Nogelmeier was bestowed the name Puakea by Kumu Hula Maiki Aiu Lake.

<sup>5</sup>“Long Story Short.” Transcripts. [http://www.pbshawaii.org/ourproductions/longstory\\_guests/nogelmeier.htm](http://www.pbshawaii.org/ourproductions/longstory_guests/nogelmeier.htm)

<sup>6</sup>“Found in Translation.” *Hana Hou!* <http://www.hanahou.com/pages/magazine.asp?Action=DrawArticle&ArticleID=547>

<sup>7</sup><http://www.nahokuhanohano.org>

original columns have been completely reworked into books that bear little resemblance to what was presented to reading audiences in the 1860s and 1870s” [43:xiv]. The two historians’ work appeared originally as columns in newspapers, and the sequence of the articles do not parallel the sequence in the current presentations of the information.

In an effort to make the large body of Hawaiian-language material of that era available, Nogelmeier worked with Ho’olaupa’i to digitize Hawaiian-language newspapers published between 1834 and 1948, making them available to the public via the internet. These can be accessed at <http://www.nupepa.org>.

Nogelmeier describes himself as a “haole maoli,” (native white person). While some might call it an oxymoron, the term seems to fit just right.<sup>8</sup> Hailing from Minnesota, he grew up in a very different setting than that here in Hawai‘i, but when he got here, he took to Hawaiian culture and became earnestly engaged in learning, practicing, and sharing it. Nogelmeier also brings the perspective of a PhD in anthropology. *Mai Pa’a I Ka Leo* is a reworking of what was Nogelmeier’s dissertation.

## 4 Foreign Scholars

These scholars had little to no interaction with the native culture and produced their histories purely out of archival material, resulting in histories that either quickly gloss over pre-contact history or begin abruptly at the arrival of Cook and other foreigners late in the eighteenth century. Their methods, by western standards, produce authoritative histories, involving intensive archival research. They did not learn the Hawaiian language or give much attention to the resources produced by Hawaiians. Their approach in the collection and telling of history is criticized for its failure to tell the story of the indigenous people of Hawai‘i.

### 4.1 Ralph S. Kuykendall (1885–1963)

Born, raised, and educated in California, Ralph S. Kuykendall did not come to Hawai‘i until 1922 when Professor K. C. Leebrick hired him to be the executive secretary of the newly established Hawaiian Historical Commission.

He received a BA from the College of the Pacific in California in 1910. After that Kuykendall spent a couple of years in graduate studies at Stanford University as an assistant in history. However, he would not complete his studies until after various other engagements, including two years employed as a field research agent for the Historical Survey Commission in California. He finally completed his MA thesis at the University of California at Berkeley, and began to work on his doctorate when a fellowship brought him to the archives of Seville, Spain. It was while he was in Seville that Kuykendall received Leebrick’s offer [37:2–3].

Upon his arrival in Hawai‘i on June 22, 1922, he was not very familiar with Hawaiian history and took off at a running start to acquaint himself, visiting the Territorial Archives, the Library of Hawaii, and other data repositories that day [37:4]. From that day until his death in 1963, Kuykendall was occupied for four decades with researching and writing Hawaiian history [37:11–12].

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<sup>8</sup>“Found in Translation.”



Kuykendall is said to have been a very reserved individual. When he left Hawai‘i shortly before his death, Bob Krauss of the *Honolulu Advertiser* wrote, “only a half-dozen of his close friends had come to see him off. Few know that he is gone” [45]. His main focus during his time in Hawai‘i was on examining historical documents and from there producing what he perceived as a complete history of Hawai‘i. It is doubtful that Kuykendall experienced much of the native culture. What he wrote was informed almost exclusively by archival research.

In the foreword to the fifth printing of *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, Gavan Daws affixes the words “official” and “authoritative” to Kuykendall’s history because of its extensive documentation. This is due to Kuykendall’s meticulous research methods. Kuykendall had a very specific view of how history should be recorded and presented. He once wrote,

It is the business of the historian to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—to draw a faithful picture (a moving picture, if you please) of the past ... Until comparatively recent times, the exploits of kings, diplomatic intrigues, religious controversies, and wars were about the only thing that historians wrote about. That, of course, gave a very one-sided, incomplete picture of human life. Nowadays, historians try to give a *complete picture*, with proper attention to all factors, including social, economic, and psychological conditions and developments. Hence it happens that kings, priests, diplomats, and battles have to share the scene with trade guilds, explorers, inventors, business men, farmers, educators, stevedores, and all the rest of us and our doings. [38:vii–viii]

Kuykendall strove to maintain a personal distance from the history he wrote, so that it would remain a “a faithful picture” and “nothing but the truth” and endeavored to tell the stories of all from the low to the high within the social stratification, but somehow neglected to recognize the indigenous perspective.

Kuykendall’s handling of the pre-contact history of Hawai‘i is starkly different from those of the previously discussed historians. For one thing, he did not have the same sources as they had; rather, he used some of them as sources. Also, Kuykendall had a different purpose and investment in producing this history. He had different research and interpretive methods. As a student of history educated solely in western ideologies, Kuykendall came to Hawai‘i to apply the skills of his education to the task of recompiling the information into a comprehensive history of the islands. It was not of primary interest to preserve an old culture, but rather to reorient the history of that culture in a contemporary context.

Kuykendall wrote three volumes as a comprehensive history of the Hawaiian Islands. The first volume, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume I, 1778–1854* [38] deals with ancient Hawaiian history, before the arrival of foreigners.

Since Kuykendall’s career as a historian did not begin until well into the twentieth century, obviously he did not have access to the same resources that some of the previously discussed historians had. Instead, he employed a rigorous research method to collect and organize the necessary information for his compilation. Backed by the Hawaiian Historical Commission, he gained access to historical documents from previously untapped archives from other countries that had had contact with Hawai‘i. Of course, these documents informed the post-contact history of Hawai‘i.

As for Hawai'i's ancient history, Kuykendall deals only briefly with the myths, legends, and genealogies of Hawaiian culture, which for Hawaiians are essentially the substance of their history, and instead focuses on the details of how the Hawaiian people arrived and survived in these islands based on evidence in the archaeological record. He writes of how the islands of Hawai'i formed through volcanic action, subsistence activities of the Hawaiians, and their religion and the *kapu* system. Also, Kuykendall apparently thought that pre-contact life must have been boring, writing that wars among kingdoms "gave zest to an otherwise not very exciting life and made it necessary for the chiefs at least to keep themselves mentally alert and physically fit" [38:10].

Kuykendall collaborated with A. Grove Day on another history of Hawai'i, *Hawaii: A History, From Polynesian Kingdom to American Commonwealth* [39]. The first chapter, entitled "Before the 'Haole' Came," is primarily about the voyages of the Polynesians that brought them to Hawai'i. There is brief mention of the legend of Paa, as it recounts a story of a voyage from this period. Then it describes a period of isolation in which there were many struggles for power and land among chiefs, but no outside contact.

Upon examination of Kuykendall's footnotes one will find that he used Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* and Fornander's *An Account of the Polynesian Race* as sources. Thus Kuykendall's ancient history was a compilation and reinterpretation of these previous histories from the perspective of a foreigner of a later era reconceptualizing what had occurred in the past through the review of previous documentations of history. Although, as Gavan Daws describes, Kuykendall "regard[ed] himself as a reliable chronicler rather than as an interpreter or reinterpreter of events" it is inevitable that his background influenced the way he collected and recorded the history [38]. However, it may be said of Kuykendall that in his methods, he was incredibly thorough.

#### 4.2 Gavan Daws (b. 1933)

Gavan Daws did his undergraduate training in Australia, where he was born and raised, at the University of Melbourne's then-renowned School of History. It is noted that Daws held an admiration for the US, even when many of his peers had become critical of the country. Postgraduate studies were done at the University of Hawai'i (UH), where he earned the distinction of being the first to earn a PhD in Pacific history. Subsequently, Daws remained in Honolulu to teach at UH until 1974 when he resigned to accept a position at Australian National University where he undertook new methodologies in the writing of history, including "focusing on native agency, acceptance of a wider range of historical materials, and fresh examinations and interpretations of 'traditional' primary sources [to] produce more believable and valuable histories" [45:196–197].

Daws secured a contract to write a history of Hawai'i after selling an article about Ni'ihau to *American Heritage* magazine. He titled his history *Shoal of Time*, and it was published in 1968. The text is popular among college classrooms in Hawai'i.<sup>9</sup> The book sold more than Kuykendall's three volumes collectively [45:199].

The first chapter is called "Captain Cook: 1778–1779" and as its title indicates, describes the arrival of Captain Cook in Hawai'i in 1778 and events following. Daws does not attempt to address the fact that the Hawaiian people had been living in the islands for centuries before the first European ever laid eyes on them.

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<sup>9</sup>Tsai, Michael. "Gavan Daws." *Honolulu Advertiser*. July 2, 2006. <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/150/sesq6daws>

Daws does, however, describe the people that Cook encountered. Despite the book's commercial success, Daws's portrayal of the historical events was not well-received by the native Hawaiian population. A native Hawaiian scholar, Jonathan K. Osorio, says that many within his community

find Daws's observations and piquant sense of humor and irony [in *Shoal of Time*] objectionable if not downright offensive ... he was sympathetic to native culture in ways that Kuykendall would not permit himself to be, but lacking any way of understanding that culture, he chose to mock the institutions that he believed oppressed the poor and underclasses and spared no one, neither missionary nor native ali'i. [45:196]

Because of a failure by Daws to understand the culture, he was unable to understand the impact of the events on the native people.

The book tells a foreigner's perspective of the history of the islands, the only kind that Daws could present. However, Osorio cites a 1974 interview in which Daws indicates hope that local writers would undertake the task of writing their own histories [45:199].

## 5 Twentieth-Century Native Scholars

In the latter half of the twentieth century, a "Hawaiian Renaissance" began in which native scholars became more interested in learning the ancient culture in order to perpetuate it. One person often credited for helping the movement take off is Mary Kawena Pukui, who shared what she knew of the ancient rituals and chants and was fluent in the Hawaiian language. For many individuals of Hawaiian ancestry, the renaissance was a journey of discovery of the culture largely unknown to them before.

Other individuals important to the Hawaiian Renaissance, like George Na'ope, musician and founder of the Merrie Monarch Festival, do not author books to preserve their history; instead, they keep the culture alive by practicing and sharing it. Another facet of the movement is the emergence of scholars like George Kanahale, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Malcolm Nāea Chun, Jonathan Osorio, and Noelani Arista, who bring an academic and a *kanaka maoli* perspective to their work on Hawaiian history.

### 5.1 Mary Kawena Pukui (1895–1986)

Pukui was born to a Hawaiian mother and *haole* father in Ka'ū on the island of Hawai'i and brought up under two different cultures. Her father, Henry Wiggin, came to Hawai'i from Massachusetts. Through him and the westernized environment of Hawai'i, Pukui learned of the western culture (Wiggin did learn to speak Hawaiian, though). On her mother's side, she descended from *kahuna*, and as an infant, in the tradition of *hānai*, she was raised by her maternal grandparents in her early youth. Her grandparents groomed her to be the family senior, teaching her the old chants, rituals and customs, and their meanings and purposes. Pukui's grandmother, Po'ai, had been a dancer in the court of Queen Emma, and her grandfather was a *kahuna*. In her early teens, Pukui began to collect stories, legends, and traditions from family and friends.<sup>10</sup> With her mother and grandparents she spoke only Hawaiian, and with her father and in school she spoke English [52].

<sup>10</sup> Blair, Chad. "Kawena's Legacy." *Hana Hou! Magazine of Hawaiian Airlines*. <http://www.hanahou.com/pages/magazine.asp?Action=DrawArticle&ArticleID=609&MagazineID=38&Page=1>

Pukui attended Hawaiian Mission Academy, a Christian school. After she finished her schooling she became a teacher of Hawaiiana at Punahou School. Later, in 1937, notice of her language skills and knowledge led her to Bishop Museum where she worked as associate emeritus in Hawaiian culture for over 25 years, researching and translating with individuals like Beckwith (sec. 3.3).<sup>11</sup> She translated many of the old histories, like that of Kamakau (sec. 2.1) and ‘Ī‘ī (sec. 2.3), and became an individual that many consulted with on traditional Hawaiian culture [40].

In several ways, Pukui is a lot like the native scholars of the nineteenth century. It is said that Pukui built on the knowledge imparted to her by her grandparents by speaking with *kūpuna*. She put what she knew into practice, being an important figure in Hawaiian music. Pukui composed many songs, and in 1995 she was inducted into the Hawaiian Music Hall of Fame.<sup>12</sup> Currently, an annual festival celebrating hula and other arts is held in her honor.<sup>13</sup> Also, the many books Pukui wrote, co-authored, or translated form a significant piece of the available literature on ancient Hawaiian culture today.

She received criticism from some Hawaiians for publishing the things she did on Hawaiian culture and making it available to all, including non-Hawaiians—it shouldn’t be written down and it shouldn’t be available for just anyone to see—but Pukui believed that her work benefited the younger generations.<sup>14</sup> Kamakau received the exact same criticism, and his response was similar to Pukui’s. Again, this seems to be an example of a discordance between western and ancient Hawaiian ideologies, with Pukui representing a western approach.

Within her lifetime, Pukui was recognized as a valuable resource for her publications and translation work. Reflecting on her significant role in perpetuating old traditions, DeSoto Brown, archives collections manager at Bishop Museum, commented that, “Kawena really is the primary informant for how Hawaiian culture is practiced today.”<sup>15</sup> Perhaps notable musician and educator Noelani Mahoe described Pukui’s distinction best:

Recognized as the greatest living authority on Hawaiian culture and language, Kawena Pukui lends legitimacy to the whole enterprise of perpetuating Hawaiian culture, for she is, in a very real sense, the personification of the evolution of Hawai‘i from ancient to the modern. [40]

Pukui composed over 150 songs and chants and wrote, co-authored, edited, or translated more than 50 books.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps Pukui’s most invaluable contribution is the *Hawaiian Dictionary* [49]. This text was largely instrumental in the revival of the Hawaiian language.

Another important publication is *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Look to the Source* [52]. On this Pukui collaborated with E. W. Haertig and Catherine A. Lee. In the preface, the authors discuss what went into the preparation of the book:

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.; Burlingame, Burl. “Author aided revival of Hawaiian tongue.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Nov. 1, 1999. <http://archives.starbulletin.com/1999/11/01/news/story8.html>

<sup>12</sup><http://www.hmhof.org/honorees/1995/pukui.html>

<sup>13</sup><http://www.bishopmuseum.org/special/paf2010.html>

<sup>14</sup>“Kawena’s Legacy”

<sup>15</sup>“Kawena’s Legacy”

<sup>16</sup>Gordon, Mike. “Mary Kawena Pukui.” *Honolulu Advertiser*. July 2, 2006. <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/150/sesq6pukui>

The material came from weekly meetings of the Hawaiian Culture Study Committee, recorded and transcribed for a seven year period; the references listed in the Bibliography, and numerous interviews and conferences among the three of us. [52:ix]

Since the book was “intended primarily for members of the helping professions who work with Hawaiians . . . physicians, psychiatrists, nurses, psychologists, social workers, community leaders, the clergy,” it includes topics relevant to the modern Hawaiian. It hopes to reveal for its readers what makes Hawaiians who they are.

Essentially, we have tried to clarify distorted beliefs, suggest the rationale behind Hawaiian ritual, and convey some of the poetic imagery of ancient rites and their underlying concepts. [52:x]

Pukui's store of information on Hawaiian culture was the primary informant. For this project, she probably drew from what she learned and experienced as a child as well as the stories she received from interviews with others. This is an important text because it informs how Hawaiians today view and revive the ancient culture.

One of Pukui's most relevant works is *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu, Hawaiʻi* [23], which she co-authored with E. S. Craighill Handy. The book describes many aspects of ancient Hawaiian culture, based on information collected through interviews with Hawaiians in Kaʻu and other areas on the Big Island. Being that Pukui was from Kaʻu and Pukui's mother adopted Handy and his wife into her family, the informants were more forthcoming. Probably owing to Dr. Handy's ethnological background, the tone of the book is informative and academic, though not exactly scientific.

There is a large collection of other publications including *Place Names of Hawaii* [50], *Hawaiʻi Island Legends* [48], *Tales of the Menehune* [46], *The Water of Kāne and Other Legends of the Hawaiian Islands* [47], *Folktales of Hawaiʻi* [51], and *The Echo of Our Song: Chants & Poems of the Hawaiians* [53]. They mostly concern the legends and *mele* of ancient Hawaiʻi. Some are recollections, and others are translations. Pukui's recollections are uniquely valuable because of her faithful recordations.

Pukui took scrupulous care to tell and record *moʻolelo* (stories) just as she had heard them. “Some people heard stories and then rewrote them in a Western sense,” [Pukui's daughter] Pat Bacon notes. “As a result, a lot was lost. That was not my mother's style.” [51:xi]

Pukui was a well-known and respected figure to the Hawaiian community, which for some legitimizes her work. She shared the knowledge she acquired from her elders, which they presumably perpetuated via the oral tradition, and from interviews with people in the various communities. Her work also consisted of translations of accounts taken down by her predecessors. Western and native culture influenced her throughout her life, personally and academically, which is inevitable for any native individual born after the eighteenth century, but more so for Pukui because of her dual ethnicities. These are all things to consider in relation to the works of Pukui.

## 5.2 George Hu'eu Sanford Kanahele (1930–2000)

George Kanahele was born and raised in Hawai'i. As a youth, he attended Kamehameha Schools, then continued his education by earning his bachelor's and master's degrees from Brigham Young University and his PhD from Cornell University [35]. As a native Hawaiian, a Mormon, and an intellectual in a modern western society, Kanahele had different roles to navigate through and find balance among.<sup>17</sup>

Kanahele's purpose in exploring ancient Hawaiian culture was to infuse more of it into modern tourist culture. He helped found the Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association in 1997 and acted as a consultant to numerous corporations, advising them on integrating more native Hawaiian values in their businesses to improve and authenticate tourist perception of native Hawaiian culture [35].<sup>18</sup> Thus, Waikiki is one of the areas that Kanahele gave great attention to.

Kanahele treats the pre-contact history of Waikiki in his book *Waikiki, 100 B.C. to 1900 A.D.: An Untold Story* [35]. In the preface, Kanahele explains that all the previous literature about Waikiki's history is about post-contact or nineteenth-century history from a western viewpoint, sparing “only a few hundred words describing pre-European times.” He also lays out the sources that informed each part of his history:

For the first 1,000 years, there is little or no information from either the scientific archaeological record, or the traditional oral record, so much of which has been lost. But there are different kinds of data—geological, biological, botanical or even mythological—that are useful for speculating about Waikiki's beginnings. Thus, the first part of the story is what some might call hypothetical. Others may call it fictional, but I believe it is a reasonable and plausible account of what might have happened.

The second part, which describes the history of Waikiki's chiefs, beginning about 1400, is based almost entirely on legendary sources found mainly in the works of historians Samuel Kamakau, Abraham Fornander and, to a lesser extent, David Malo. The accounts have some basis in fact, but the qualities and achievements of the chiefs are often embellished to the point of being fanciful. This is often the case with any history that must rely on oral traditions. In the absence of any other kind of information, however, perceptual reality is better than none at all. Hence, the evidence for the second part of the story is drawn from “legendary” sources.

The third part of this history, from 1778 to 1900, is based on written, documented and published sources that can be accurately described as historical. And yet the history of Waikiki—like the histories of other regions where oral traditions are of paramount importance in recording the past—needs the corroboration of written sources. [35:x–xi]

Kanahele's methods largely reflect those of most modern historians.

Another significant work of Kanahele's is *Kū Kanaka—Stand Tall: A Search for Hawaiian Values* [34]. In the book, Kanahele sets out to answer the question “What is a Hawaiian?” Kanahele's colleague Kenneth F. Brown describes the approach Kanahele takes:

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<sup>17</sup>Tsai, Michael. “George Kanahele.” *Honolulu Advertiser*. July 2, 2006. <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/150/sesq6kanahele>

<sup>18</sup><http://www.nahha.com/about.html>

George Kanahele has analyzed the ancient Hawaiian civilization as though it still exists today, and he uses contemporary disciplines to lay out for us, in modern terms and ways of thinking, the essence of that culture. [34:x]

Kanahele describes societal topics related to ancient Hawai‘i in order to uncover the values that govern them and relay that to a modern context.

Another important publication is *Hawaiian Renaissance* [33], a collection of Kanahele’s speeches and writings on the titular subject. Kanahele explores the origins as well as the present manifestations of this movement.

Kanahele’s history is colored by a number of factors, including his purpose of reinvigorating the practice of old Hawaiian culture and changing visitors’ perception of the culture to a more authentic one; his orientation as a Mormon, a Hawaiian, and an intellectual in a modern context; and his desire to define “Hawaiian” or rather, what makes one Hawaiian.

### 5.3 Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa

Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa is an associate professor at the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. She is a native Hawaiian activist advocating such causes as Hawaiian immersion and *heiau* preservation, and is a leader in the native Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Kame‘eleihiwa issued a statement criticizing the Supreme Court’s ruling that the state has the right to sell ceded lands.<sup>19</sup> She does not hesitate to share her opinion on these and other Hawaiian-related issues.

Kame‘eleihiwa’s works include *Nā Wāhine Kapu (Divine Hawaiian Women)* [32], *He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao o Kamapua‘a: The Hawaiian Pig-God* [31], *Maui: The Mischief Maker* [57], and *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* [30]. She also, along with Haunani-Kay Trask, was a principal writer in the documentary “Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation” [56].

*Native Land* offers a modern *kanaka maoli* perspective of the events and conditions surrounding the *Māhele* of 1848, which Kame‘eleihiwa points out is important because “the historical portraits that have emerged, for the most part, reflect a Eurocentric and non-Native view of Land tenure and related historical changes.” Kame‘eleihiwa espouses Greg Denning’s distinction between “metaphor” and “model” to qualify her work’s significance. In short, they both are interpretive devices, but “metaphors” are understood within a culture, whereas “models” are an outsider’s understanding imposed upon the culture. Kame‘eleihiwa and Denning caution that “white models may be entirely inappropriate for Native metaphors.” Previous accounts of the *Māhele* have been viewed through models, while Kame‘eleihiwa hopes to offer better insights into Hawaiian metaphors so that a more complete understanding of the Hawaiian perspective of the *Māhele* can be acquired. She attempts to illuminate these metaphors by substantiating the relationship that the *kanaka maoli* have to the *‘āina*, which, as Kame‘eleihiwa argues, necessitates a knowledge of the Hawaiian language [30:4–8].

In a review of the book,<sup>20</sup> Jonathan Osorio observes that the book has nationalist overtones, which is not surprising coming from Kame‘eleihiwa. At times, Kame‘eleihiwa’s unabashed nationalism strains her reasoning, causing a reluctance to see any greed or selfishness in the actions of

<sup>19</sup><http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2009/Mar/31/br/hawaii90331041.html>

<sup>20</sup><https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/12974>

*ali'i*.<sup>21</sup> An abundance of evidence for Kame'eleihiwa's nationalism can be found in the last chapter, "An Afterword to my People." She says that *kanaka maoli* are not American because they are the native people of this land and calls upon Hawaiians to live in the way of their ancestors. However, the book is still a rare instance of *kanaka maoli* perspective on an historical event.

Kame'eleihiwa's position as a lead figure in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, a *kanaka maoli*, and a scholar all affect her presentation of historical events. Though biased, her perspective holds value as one that is seldom elsewhere found.

## 5.4 Other Important Renaissance Figures

Malcolm Nāea Chun has written *Nā Kukui Pio 'Ole, The Inextinguishable Torches* [10], which includes biographies of Malo and Kamakau, as well as several other books on traditional Hawaiian medicinal, spiritual, and ethical topics. He also edited *I ka Wa o Kamehameha* [9], a collection of essays by Kamakau, and did a translation of Malo's *Ka Mō'olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian Antiquities)* [42]. Chun undertook the task of retranslating Davida Malo's manuscript for two main reasons: because he believed that much of Hawaiian culture and history up to that time had been told by foreigners from a foreign perspective; and because the Victorian English of the original translation, done by Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson in 1898, is at times difficult for the modern reader of American English to understand. Chun's edition contains the original Hawaiian text from Malo's manuscript, followed by Chun's updated translation.

Dr. Jonathan Osorio is a professor of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i. Osorio's publication most relevant to ancient Hawaiian history is *Dismembering Lāhui* [44]. As one of the influential proponents of Hawaiian sovereignty, in this book Osorio writes of how the Bayonet Constitution of 1887 was one of the major things cleaving the Hawaiians from their culture. The constitution, signed by Kalākaua under force, imposed western systems on the citizens of Hawai'i, systems that were so different from the ancient Hawaiian systems that the Hawaiians had little hope to understand them, leaving them vulnerable to the desires of the foreigners. Osorio's political beliefs clearly influenced his exploration of this topic. Osorio was also cited earlier in this bibliography for his essay on the histories of Kuykendall and Daws [45] and his review of Kame'eleihiwa's *Native Lands*,<sup>22</sup> where he critiques their methods and perspectives as historians.

Dr. Noelani Arista is a professor in the Department of History at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her doctoral dissertation on early encounters between foreigners and Hawaiians received the prestigious Allan Nevins Prize of the Society of American Historians which recognizes the year's best-written doctoral dissertation on an American subject [2]. Arista wrote her MA thesis on Davida Malo [1] and provides her insights on the factors influencing historians of the nineteenth century in the introduction to *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii* [6].

The works of Kanahēle, Kame'eleihiwa, and these three individuals represent the modern *kanaka maoli* perspective. They are educated Hawaiians who wish to re-present and preserve their people's history. Their analyses of historical events fill the important role of giving modern interpretations of the events and insight into how historians of the past and their work should be evaluated through the modern native perspective, which helps give value to the old histories among contemporary Hawaiians.

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.



## 6 Archaeological and Anthropological Historians

In recent decades, archaeologists, anthropologists, and other academics have contributed increasingly to the recordation of ancient Hawaiian history using the tools of their trade to reconstruct the details of the past. An incomplete list is given here:

- Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., former Curator of Collections at Bernice P. Bishop Museum, published *Ancient Hawaiian Life* [7] in 1938.
- Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), Director of Bishop Museum from 1936 to 1951, published *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii* [8] in 1957.
- David E. Stannard, professor of American Studies at the University of Hawai‘i, published *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai‘i on the Eve of Western Contact* [54] in 1989.
- Ross Cordy, archaeologist and historian with over 40 years of experience in Hawai‘i, published  
*Exalted Sits the Chief: The Ancient History of Hawai‘i Island* [11] in 2000;  
*An Ancient History of Wai‘anae* [12] in 2002; and  
*The Rise and Fall of the O‘ahu Kingdom* [13] in 2002.
- Patrick Vinton Kirch, local-born archaeologist and former head of the Division of Archaeology at Bishop Museum, published *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory* [36] in 1985.
- Various authors, including E. S. C. Handy, Peter H. Buck, E. H. Bryan, and Kenneth P. Emory, in *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization: A series of lectures delivered at The Kamehameha Schools*, published c. 1933.

These present a scientific approach to history, informed strictly by scientific evidence; oral histories have little bearing. Some are presented as narratives, others as catalogs.

## 7 Conclusion

Historians are produced by many different factors, and in many different contexts. They draw upon numerous sources, and have multitudes of objectives. This diversity among them makes for a variety of histories, and it is left to each individual to navigate through and evaluate the validity and relevance of each in relation to the researcher’s goal.

## Glossary

**post-contact** After the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778.

**pre-contact** Prior to AD 1778 and the first written records of the Hawaiian Islands made by Captain James Cook and his crew.

## Hawaiian Terms

**‘āina** Land, earth.

**ali‘i** Chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch, peer, head man, noble, aristocrat, king, queen, commander.

**ali'i nui** Principal chief.

**'aumakua** Family or personal gods, deified ancestors who might assume the shape of animals, rocks, clouds, or plants.

**hālau** Long house, as for canoes or hula instruction.

**haole** White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner.

**hānai** Foster child, adopted child; foster, adopted.

**heiau** Traditional Hawaiian place of worship.

**Kahiki** Tahiti, foreign land.

**kahu** Honored attendant, guardian, nurse, keeper of 'unihipili bones, regent, keeper, administrator, warden, caretaker, master, mistress; pastor, minister, reverend, or preacher of a church; one who has a dog, cat, pig, or other pet. See also 'unihipili.

**kahuna** Priest, sorcerer, magician, wizard, minister, expert in any profession.

**kanaka maoli** An indigenous Polynesian person or people of the Hawaiian Islands.

**kapu** Taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo; sacredness; prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy, consecrated; no trespassing, keep out.

**kaukauali'i** Class of chiefs of lesser rank than the high chief, the father a high chief and the mother of lower rank but not a commoner. See also *ali'i*.

**kupuna** Grandparent, ancestor, relative, or close friend of the grandparent's generation, grandaunt, granduncle.

**Māhele** The mid-nineteenth century land division responsible for the introduction of fee simple land title in Hawai'i.

**mele** Song, anthem, or chant of any kind.

**mo'olelo** A story, tale, myth, history, tradition, legend, fable, chronicle, or record.

**oli** Chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill at the end of each phrase.

**pule** Prayer, magic spell, incantation, blessing.

**'unihipili** Spirit of a dead person, sometimes believed present in bones or hair of the deceased and kept lovingly.

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